774 is the object of constant concern during agrarian rituals. The role of the soul of plants is particularly noticeable in their medicinal uses. Drawing a remedy from a plant may cause its death, liberating its spiritual principles for the benefit of the sick man. Because of this, such an act is equated with a blood sacrifice.

With the exception of the ngovo tomato, plants have no dya. The shadow (suma) of a plant is not independent like that of a man or an animal. It exists only through light effects and its movements are caused by the air and the wind moving its leaves and branches. This is what the Bambara means when he says that the dya has a life of its own and depends on Faro, whereas the plant's suma depends on the spirit Tèliko, master of the air.

774 An individual's dya can be known and his temperament and life
787 possibilities assessed by measuring his shadow on the earth at noon.
804 The unit employed is the little finger, which is a corporeal symbol
843 of the person. If a pregnant woman is thus measured, the sex of the child may be predicted.

774 When a boy or a girl gets married, it is said of them: a ye a dya
[576] furu: "he (or she) has married his dya." For it is impolite to say that a person married anyone but his spiritual double. Besides, the union of the couple is repeated by the union of their dya which like themselves are of opposite sex. In olden times, male twins married the
[595 851] same woman and the latter's dya was taken over by Faro in the Niger. The child she conceived was the son of both husbands.

589 Some men do not marry. This is true of the Soma, the religious
791 diviner attached to the major Bambara societies. Initiated in the course of a solitary sojourn in the bush, he left his dya with the invisible spirits. This is a prerequisite to the gift of double sight with which he is endowed as well as a protection against possible dangers to the dya when it remains in contact with the earth, or when it approaches other humans. The true spouse of the Soma is his dya: he may mate only with it on a fixed date when the spirits return it to him for this purpose. /61/

The tere

774 The tere was inflicted by Pemba on Mousso Koroni in order to diminish her power at the time he was pursuing her. This explains its complexity: it is at once the character of a man, his strength,

781 mechanism, invisible for the ordinary person, unknown to the noninitiate, can be perceived by the seer and the diviner who are conscious of the fact that they are manipulating the divine with the cowries. Because of this they bend over the constantly renewed shape given to the dispersed material with a powerful feeling of the presence of the forces to whom they are appealing.

The Somaya

791 According to tradition, the somaya or science of the soma was revealed in Mandé, that is to say, it was known to the Bambara before their arrival in the territory which they now occupy. It was restricted to a few privileged persons. The gifts of clairvoyance which it presupposes may be discovered in a newborn baby at the time when the signs determining his character (tere) are examined by the elders during the name-giving ceremony. In early childhood frequent manifestations of suffering are a sign of the spirits' presence and from the first steps, the way of walking itself confirms the child's vocation. About the age of ten, the young boy "guided by the Téliko spirits" is attracted by them into the bush near a pond where he lives in their invisible company for several days.

After this retreat the child returns to his village, provided with a little stone (jinaworo, literally, kola nut of the spirits), a sign of the alliance he has contracted with them.

However, he pretends not to know the place he came from. He also never makes any statements concerning the gift of double sight with which he has been endowed, but does manifest it by making some unsolicited revelations about their future to those he encounters. After a time, people recognize by these signs his quality as a Soma, which implies a change in his spiritual principles: the dya remains under the protection of the Téliko spirits who also control the diviner; they act directly on his person and hold his health and life in their power, punishing him in case of an infraction or in case of disorders which are harmful to the exercise of his art (1).

1. A Soma would become a mahalakillen or a harmful animal if his dya were altered through contact with the impure earth.

791 [589] The gifts he has received and the position of his dya compel /221/ the Soma to remain unmarried and to observe a certain chastity. "The wife of the Soma lives with the spirits," says the informant who adds that every forty-nine days (7 x 7) his dya is returned to him during the night for the purpose of a sexual union.

From the moment the Soma begins to exercise his art regularly, he visits the bush from time to time to consult the spirits and make offerings to them. Moreover, the latter visit him in his home where he attracts them by burning a powder that gives off a smell of which they are fond.

Like the griot, the Soma has a mouth full of nyama: his own to which is added that of the spirits who help him and control him. His word is so powerful that he rarely announces a death, for this would contribute to the propagation of death.

The Soma must be rigorously clean, wear simple clothes, and even dress as an indigent. During ceremonies he hangs the stone jineworo around his neck with a string and must always carry this stone in a pocket of his tunic. He generally belongs to the Komo society and may become its chief. In this case he is the recognized diviner of the village.

791 766 The Soma keeps in his home his stone of alliance and his harp with its accessories. When he dies, his body is left for some time alone in the house; the spirits are supposed to come and reclaim these objects which no one must touch and which no one will inherit. The burial of the body and the funeral ceremonies are performed only after this delay. His soul is never kept in the Komo altars and goes to join the dya in the domains of Téliko; the spiritual principles of the Soma are not reincarnated and the gift which he has received is not hereditary.

791 534 The Soma's harp (Fig. 17) (1) is made of a rectangular chest (bara)

1. See G. Dieterlen, Morphologie et symbolique de deux instruments de musique bambara /The Morphology and Symbolism of Two Instruments of Bambara Music/.

pierced through longitudinally by a long piece of wood (ngoni kala, literally, stalk of the ngoni) surrounded by little leather thongs in the shape of rings (jiri wolo, literally, skin of wood). These hold

191 534 the goatskin thongs (ngoni dyuru, literally, ropes of the ngoni). At the end of the stalk, ngoni ku, is affixed an iron percussion plate (boso) decorated with rings of the same metal (nyege nyegele) which are the "earrings of the spirits." These rings are said to be "multicolored' for the sound they emit is blurred and confused.

[532]

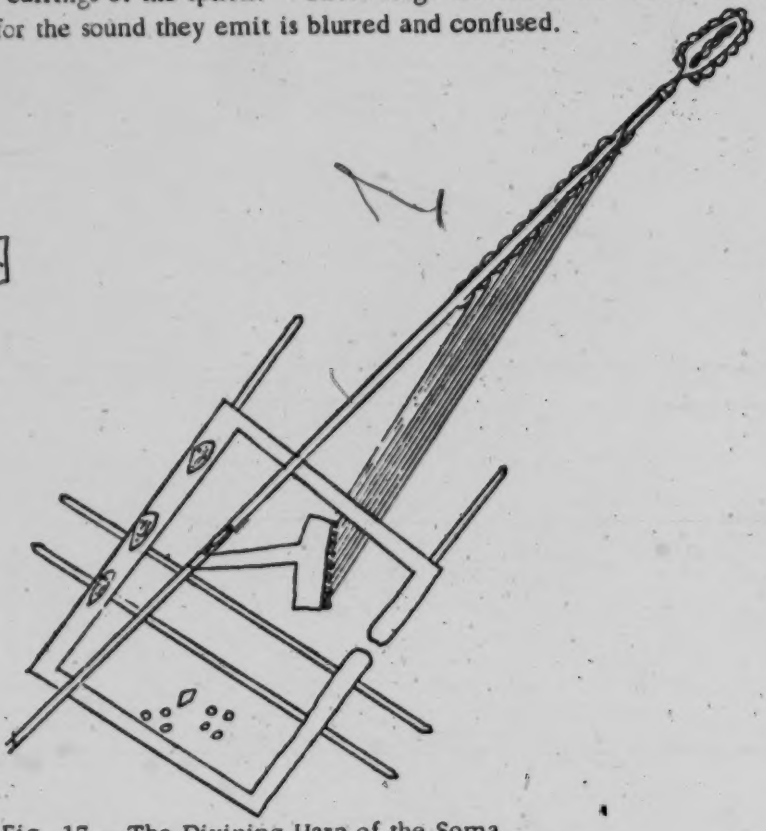

Fig. 17 —The Divining Harp of the Soma.
The instrument represents the face of the ancestor Koumabana who received "the word," and his tomb; on another level, it symbolizes also the face of the diviner and his tomb. (Drawing by an informant.)

When the percussion plate is placed on the handle, "it increases the sounds and filters them in the air, which pleases the spirits and calls them to the diviner whom they assist during his work." If the instrument /222/ is used without the percussion plate, that is to say, for a secular purpose, the spirits are not alerted by the playing of the music.

191 534 The skin, stretched on the box by means of goatskin thongs, is soaked in water over which the name of the spirit Téliko has been pronounced forty-nine times. The supporting strings are made of twisted shreds of shrouds picked up in a cemetery. The musical strings are made of goatskin, numbering eight, /223/ symbol of the word (1),

1. The harp of the Soma differs from that of the griot which usually has even strings.

and are named as follows, beginning with the shortest: kumabana, fa dɛ̃ (son of the father), fa (father), fa koroke (elder brother of the father), fa dogone (younger brother of the father), ba (mother), modɛ̃ (grandson), fa so (house of the father).

Tied to a bridge, ɲiri ni (literally, teeth of the ngoni), which represents the mouth and teeth of Koumabana, they are the ancestor's words. On another level, they are also the home and the family of the spirit Téliko.

Of a relatively equal length in different harps, they give eight different notes; the intervals are called dyuru fara dye (2).

2. On some instruments we have observed, the first and the eighth string gave the same note at an interval of an octave. It may be predicted that a thorough study of Bambara music would bring to light a system of correspondences between the disposition of musical sounds and that of the world. M. Griaule, in his research on the Dogon harp, has already discovered a relationship between the notes, the numbers, and the universe.

[532] On the right side of the box the three first ancestors of the Bambara are sometimes drawn; Koumabana and the two elders who died after him. They may be recognized by the hair with which their faces are covered, just as those of the ancestors to whom the razor was unknown (3).

3. This detail has been observed on ancient instruments in the region of Koutiala.

791 534 The box is transpierced by two wooden sticks, če kala (literally, man-stalk), recalling the two millet stalks which accompany every dead man into his grave and which are in themselves symbols of the two elders.

791 534 755 When the Soma falls ill, he removes the two sticks from his instrument and places them beside him on his mat, anticipating the position he will lie in the grave. Thus stretched out, "he is in the grave and walks with the two ancestors"; if his condition improves the sticks have liberated him from his illness. He replaces them in the harp only after his recovery.

791 534 The box contains seven pebbles, the number of man (3 + 4) and a piece of copper in the shape of a star symbolizing the word. The Soma may look into the harp through an opening on its side, called šu wo (sorcery hole) or bara dinge (hole of the box), which "permits him to breathe," to see "the ancestor Koumabana, master of the word, and to know the deepest secrets." At the bottom of the instrument another opening, considered the anus, permits the release of all that is harmful.

/224/ A red stain placed on one of the faces, sindera ble (literally, red belt), expresses the fact that the instrument is the object of blood sacrifices like the stone jineworo.

The case is the image, the mask of Koumabana; the two faces, called respectively kini nye, "right eye," and numa nye, "left eye," represent his eyes; the comb, his mouth; the opening, his nose and respiration; the strings, his words. It is also the replica of the tomb and of the first three of the eight ancestors who knew death. Finally, it is the face of the Soma and his tomb.

The instrument must never be touched by a woman; moreover, no one must play it if his intentions are not pure, "if his heart is not clean."

791 533 781 When the Soma plays in response to requests from those who consult him, each sound is a prayer. With his free hand he holds a twig with which he strikes the base. Each stroke is a word. As he plays, images form before his eyes and within him. He touches the cords separately according to their position and in relation to the importance of the question that is being asked. Thus, he pinches modé for subjects of little importance: hunt, journey, etc.; fadé for that which is concerned with health, procreation, the physical or moral life of the individual; fa for the future, destiny, the private and public life of a man, his

791 authority, his command; fa koroke for planting and cultivation, the
533 control of water, rains, and ponds, and for fortune and wealth; fa
781 dogone for the germination of grains, the formation of the ears and the light rains; ba for all that concerns women; faso for all that concerns the family house and those who are absent.

But the Soma also plays airs with rhythms accompanied by words. He plays them one after the other during the sitting or choses them according to the character of the person consulting him and the questions raised.

The following seven songs were collected and interpreted by the Soma of Bandiagara:

"A good thing comes with a bad thing" (1). This song has the

1. Ko ñumã de bina ni ko dyugu ye.

effect of revealing to the Soma the thoughts of the consulter.

"Man knows little" (2). In spite of his learning a man knows few

2. Adama dɛ̃ te ko do.

things; a child often knows that which an adult ignores.

/225/ "Even when a man is satiated he may not go beyond the mother who has given him birth" (3). This rhythm is performed for

3. Mako fara čokočoko a tise ka temme
a wolo ba ka.

those who show arrogance or vanity, or for those whose wife has left the conjugal home and has taken refuge with her father.

"Even if he is handsome, a man must have eyes (that is, to be informed)" (4). The Soma plays this air whenever there is a marriage,

4. Moko čɛ kani čokočoko fo nɛ̃ ka soro i ku.

a birth, or an initiation.

"The world is big" (5). When anguish overwhelms the consulter,

5. Difɛ̃ ka bõ.

791 this song calms his restlessness and gives him back peace and serenity.
533 "Whatever man is, he may not go beyond God" (1). The Soma
787

1. Moko a kera čokočoko a te teme ngala ka.

plays this air if the consulter harbors bad intentions or if he is ignorant or stubborn. He does the same to discover the gifts of a child and to encourage the family to develop his learning.

"Joy embellishes the world" (2) is performed for futile and pleasant

2. Klo ye dĩne dya.

things: feasts and dances, ornaments.

787 Divination, in a large measure, is the application of the static
801 and dynamic quality of numbers. On the one hand these translate the relationships; on the other, they are symbols for phenomena, beings, behaviors, situations, and in general all the constituent parts of the universe. Though not endowed with power in themselves, they symbolize powerful and well regulated elements. It may also be said that the numbers are superior realities, the same as the primordial signs which preceded the perceptibility of all things and on account of which the things began to exist once man had taken them into his consciousness. (3)

3. See p. 17.

In the course of divination, they indicate to the individual or collective consulter his personal position with regard to the rest of the universe. In a way, they permit the formulation of a particular equation for each person at a given time.

CONCLUSION

121 /227/ It is only recently that the discipline of silence adhered to by the Blacks has been relaxed in certain circles of the initiates. Human behavior, backed up by a rigorous method, has allowed a group of researchers to establish a documentation which suffers less from the usual faults. It is no longer superficial or fragmentary; it is

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1. Compare, on p. 31 and p. 49, the conduct of Dina Wara and of Biton.

efficacies in magic and he himself is convinced that this is true. Everything he does is accepted without protest because his acts have a supernatural character. The only ones who can resist him are those who, like him, have special powers (2). Therefore he

[173]

2. Legendary traditions abound in magic combats; see especially the tradition concerning Dinga, the ancestor of the Wagadou people, and that concerning Samba Guéladio Diégui, the hero of Fouta.

makes a point of seeking the company and advice of initiates in matters that are hidden from the common herd. These are the sorcerers, magicians and marabouts, all of whom believe that they possess -- or appear to possess -- a share in the knowledge that allows its practitioners to influence the unseen. Sometimes he is one of them or becomes one, and in any event he is always, willingly or not, dependent upon them.

● 791
778 This is an age-old state of mind, which Islam has merely strengthened, for the Black man, whether Moslem or not, always regards the marabout as a diviner, a performer of miracles, a maker of philters, talismans and amulets, and a caster of spells. Many facts attest the truth of this observation, and the tales which follow will afford examples.

*173 It is understandable that with such beliefs[1] the Black man could hardly be expected to admit that the life of an important person, a powerful chief or a founder of an empire, could possibly be or have been banal, ordinary or simple. That is why supernatural, fictitious deeds make up such a large part of the native historical traditions that one may look in vain for any trace of the actions we see performed around us day after day. One must be very thoroughly accustomed to this delusion in order not to give way to discouragement at being unable to grasp

[1] [i.e., in magical and occult power with influence over the supernatural. - Analyst]

787 alone and it applies to the future as well as to the present and the past.

Mantic differs from magic in that the latter allows man
787 to use certain methods so as to subordinate natural and extra-
788 natural forces, while the former is contemplative knowledge,
791 which does not impinge on the prerogatives of the divine but merely puts divine thoughts into communication with human understanding.

Further, theoretically at least, the diviner is not linked to any particular cult and is not to be confused with the priest, since he transmits the divine will outside of sacrifice, which is the priest's function. However, it also sometimes happens that the diviner is the oracle of a particular divinity and that the same person combines the functions of both diviner and priest as in certain cults described in what follows.

787 There are innumerable methods of divination. Before pointing out the principal traits of some of them, let us first note that there are cases when the divinity enters into direct relationship with a human being and speaks to him in human language. The chronicle of Ségou gives an example, in the legend concerning Kolé, head of Biton's guards, who was approached by a genie in the forest and told of the conditions on which he would be assured of his power. Ngolo Diara cheated Kolé of the benefits of the revelation by carrying out the sacrifice required by the genie before Kolé got around to it.

Dreams in which events take place just as they do in reality constitute one method of direct revelation. Frequently, however, there is a variation between dream and reality [134] which makes the meaning of the dream uncertain and therefore makes an interpretation necessary. Among the Bambara there are people who act as diviners by interpreting their own dreams. On being consulted about a problem, they claim to receive in a dream during sleep the correct information for throwing light on the difficulties involved.

A favorite method is that in which the diviner abandons himself to his god: he is possessed by the god and becomes his oracle. In the trance he is, so to speak, the instrument through

771 nyana and seeks to use them for utilitarian ends.
789 By virtue of the beliefs on which it is based, religion engenders a certain degree of morality. Magic uses its knowledge to exploit the Universe for material profit.

In both camps there are initiates. Whereas the most [791] famous adepts in magic live in a kind of isolation, where they jealously keep the secret of their practices and where they exist apart from human societies which at once honor and fear them, [794] religion, on the other hand, displays its cults, if not exactly publicly, at least in the circle of the faithful. The latter, since they are usually completely familiar with the ceremonies of the cult and with the high-priests, are the masters and most venerated members of society.

Religion receives its most reliable support from the natural family and from the communities derived from that family. Legal magic has copied these organizations in the form of brotherhoods, which Europeans call "secret societies," a kind of spiritual family in which the members are only gradually admitted to all secrets.

Whereas the religion of the manes forms the strongest link that holds together the members of a community, and represents the framework of the society, magic on the other hand cares little for this union and in fact helps to disrupt it by the hatred it engenders. Thanks to magic, the individual feels competent to challenge the community and never fails to do so.

Let us look more closely into the traits characteristic of religion and those characteristicof magic.

By studying all that concerns especially the patriarchal and family communities and the associations growing out of these communities we shall be able to see the place occupied by the religion of the manes and of the spirits, as well as the effect of magic upon the basic manifestations of the life of these communities.

789 Since magic, in a sense, envelops every act of the native, it seems to us essential, at the start, to look into its characteristics so as to facilitate the understanding of all that is to follow, which is impreganted by magic in so many ways.

778 is a virtue which exalts his own faculties to such an extent that
789 it gives him a supernatural power that is terrifying to the uninitiated.

This property of transmission by contact accounts for the veneration which surrounds the possessions of eminent persons and those among the dead who [142] exercised power during their lifetime. Objects especially venerated are those that were in almost constant personal use: clothing, weapons, toilet articles.

The same property of transmission no doubt also accounts for the nature attributed to matter, which has been called continuity. Everything emanating from an object retains the occult energy within it, and, further, anything that "the man who knows" (don-na-ba) does to these detached parts affects the whole from which they came (1). That is why an undigested portion of

[787] 1. Divination by means of the kolon' kala, previously described, is allied to this belief. The bits and pieces of the deceased act as the dead man himself would do in guiding the bearers of the kolon' kala.

food, if suitably treated by the magician, can spoil the digested portion of the same food. The chronicle tells of how this theory of the continuity of matter was used against Bani. By means of hair and a sandal, stolen from him, the magician paralyzed Bani's clairvoyance and put him at Da's mercy.

791 Magicians. It is the learning of the magician which, so to speak, brings order out of the chaos of the world. In the broadest sense of the word, his art, magic, is a kind of utilization of the occult. It is true that there is no Bambara, from a chief down to the least of the slaves, who does not act as his own magician, but there are specialists and some of them very famous. Besides, not everyone can be a real magician. Natural talents give some individuals the power to penetrate the invisible world and to feel at home there. Some are initiated by genii who have taken a fancy to them, as shown in the chronicle of Biton; others learn the craft from a relative or a well-known magician, either at no cost or at great expense.

791 Every magician (soma) (2) has his own methods: one

2. A sorcerer is a suba (See Chapter 7).

may be intuitive and work from an inner light; another may operate only by deductive divination. All who lay claim to real power submit to rules which are often strange and rigorous and which dominate the most trifling activities of their lives. And all are fanatically determined to keep the secrets which, in their own eyes no less than in the eyes of the uninitiated, are the foundation of their mysterious powers.

[143] Very properly, the range of their investigations and their action is without limits, since everything is impregnated by the energy which is everywhere and in everything and which perhaps is everything, material form being merely one of its manifestations.

789 It is worthy of note that artisans are subject to the same dislike as that for ill-famed magicians. It is not too hazardous 463 to deduce that manual labor once consisted of magic rites which 791 were held to be indispensable in conquering matter. This is still evident in the case of blacksmiths and hunters.

791 Everywhere in the Sudan, blacksmiths are considered and, indeed, behave like magicians. The extraction of iron is 326 surrounded by essentially magic rites in which only blacksmiths may participate. After ritual preparation, they work naked while the job lasts and return to normal life only for a certain time after the work has been completed; even then they have to observe special rules. Their work is commonly thought to be tinged with magic. Their tools are impregnated by this invisible energy and, on certain days, the hut in which they are kept becomes a sort of temple, with the blacksmith as priest. The chronicle (1) attributes to fa Siné Dyara, a blacksmith who

1. See p. 112.

could understand the language of the birds, a role especially helpful to the Massa-si.

326
791 Raffenel has given us an interesting portrait of one of these Bambara blacksmiths, whom he called father Niany, whose guest he was at Foutobi (Kaarta). He saw him act successively as fa, as priest of the manes and of the guardian spirits of the family, as doctor, and as exorcist. He was always alert, always excited and ever watching for the thousand manifestations of the invisible and hastening either to cooperate with them or to force them to do his will.

752 Here are some excerpts concerning the highly characteristic personage, father Niany:

"I saw a small child die of a snake-bite," reports Raffenel (2); "the poor creature was hideous and swollen up

2. In Nouveau voyage au pays des nègres [A New Journey to the Land of the Negroes], Vol. 1, p. 417.

like a balloon. Its mother had laid it [144] down in a field of millet which she was hoeing. A snake appeared (1) and bit the

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1. "These snakes are 50 centimeters long and about 4 centimeters in diameter. Their back is gray, with very conspicuous black rings around the body. They have white bellies and a flat head rounded at the end. The part nearest the tail is covered on the upper surface by a series of vertical scales covering about a quarter of the length of the body. The tail is much smaller in diameter than the body. They like the outskirts of villages and are markedly fond of the roofs of houses." (Raffenel)

child. The mother misinterpreted its cries and offered her breast. Soon, however, the swelling became evident and the child had died within 24 hours." ....

755 "(1) I have stated elsewhere that among Negro beliefs

1. Raffenel, op. cit., p. 463.

the tradition of the state of possession was carefully preserved. One evening I was present at a ceremony designed to drive a devil out of a woman's body. Father Niany, the universal man of Foutobi, was the exorcist. At the first rumor of this event, a throng converged on the woman's hut and I joined the crowd, curious to see what was going to happen. I saw a wretched woman rolling about on the ground in terrible convulsions in the midst of a circle of onlookers who let her thrash about without trying to help and merely watched her movements. There was great excitement when Niany appeared, and the circle opened to let him pass. He approached the woman, touched her, said a few words in a low voice, lifted her and placed her on a mat.

"The woman at once became calm, and father Niany, who seemed not at all impressed by his triumph, withdrew after speaking a few words in her ear. The crowd melted away, also without showing the least surprise at such complete and prompt success. I conclude that such happenings were not at all infrequent and that Niany had a special talent for driving devils out of women's bodies. I cannot [146] say what her trouble was, but when I saw her I thought that she was simply having an attack of epilepsy and I did not recognize the usual symptoms of that dreadful malady in the sort of convulsions she was having."

791 609 Though he was sure of his art, Niany nevertheless recognized its hazards. There is no magician who does not find another who is more powerful. A foreigner, that unknown creature, is a danger, because he may chance to possess secrets which might invalidate the cleverest methods. That is why Niany fears Islam. He has an idea, which to us seems strange, of what Allah may be, as compared to a miscreant like himself and, being persuaded of the continuity of matter, he applies it in a manner that we shall describe in the chapter on Islam.

791 609 821 Though he may have his doubts about Islam, Niany is no less suspicious of the maneuvers of the foreigner, Raffenel, who is staying with him.

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"(1) One morning he came and complained bitterly that

1. Raffenel, op. cit., p. 322.

I was preventing the rain from falling and that I was causing a lot of trouble to the villagers. I could not imagine, at first, why he was thus berating me, but he explained. It was his considered opinion that the rain was very much annoyed with me for being too much interested in it. I was watching the raindrops and examining the clouds, and so the rain was getting its vengeance by refusing to fall. Father Niany resented my thermometers too, but his principal target was my barometer, to which he attributed all sorts of evil designs.

"On the following day he returned to the charge, accompanied by a deputation of farmers carrying their agricultural tools on their shoulders.

"'We've thought it all over,' said Niany, 'and we have decided that since you can stop the rain, you can also make it fall again. Therefore we have come to ask you to speak to the rain in our name.'" ....

"Two days later there came another deputation, but one which, this time, looked threatening. Among them were some [147] new faces.

"'We want you to make it rain,' said the leaders, with an angry glance at my barometer, 'for we have already waited too long. You will never convince us that what you do with your machines (they pointed at my instruments), while you look up into the air and write down the grigri, is innocent. Never before in this country, has the rain held off so long from falling and no one has ever before done what you're doing. Manage it as you will, but we must have rain by tonight.'

"The sky was filled with heavy black clouds which reassured me. .... An hour later the rain fell, but those wretches, no doubt fearing that my presence would interfere with its good intentions, pushed me unceremoniously into my hut and shut the door. By this ridiculous step they prevented me from watching the progress of a wonderful storm and noting the barometric pressure changes.

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821 "Can one imagine being given such orders? All that was left for them to do was to ask for the moon and the stars."

Niany is typical of many Sudanese blacksmiths, at least
791 of those who actually practice their trade, and it is no wonder
326 that the natives keep people of that caste at a safe distance and show them consideration, fear and a degree of scorn. For the Blacks, people as well as things connected with magic are inclined to take many forms.

791 Hunters also are magicians. One need only see a hunter
224 start off to recognize that this is true. His person and his equipment are covered with amulets that constitute a covering as well as an arsenal of magic weapons.

825 The Blacks have a different idea of animals from ours;
778 they too are powers with which one has to reckon. In proof of this, there is no animal, however tiny, which cannot be, at some time or other, very dangerous and therefore worthy of respect. So animals are addressed as "master" or "lord." The animals always to be feared are never called anything else:
[552] wara-ba means lion; sa-ma, elephant; ma-li, hippopotamus; bam-ma, [148] crocodile. Etymologically, all these names indicate "master" or "lord."

These terms are not meaningless; they attest a belief that supernatural power is incorporated in animal species. The attentions paid to animals have no other purpose than that of
825 conciliating the good-will of this power or, at least, of avoiding
789 its wrath. The common practice of using animal debris (skin,
[237] horns, tail, hair, offal, etc.) to make magic charms is an application of the principle of continuity of matter, of the individual and of the virtues peculiar to them. A rabbit's foot is tied to a
[843] pregnant woman's side in order to hasten the child's arrival; a small bag of lion skin will make the child brave and strong.

It seems likely that the domestication of animals is a
231 happy result of magic practices. These tamed creatures are held
552 to be "weak ones" and are treated as such. However, some of
825 their names show a trace of the esteem in which they were once held and which is still shown on occasion: fa-li meaning "donkey" derives from fa meaning "powerful," just as nya-ri meaning "cat" derives from nya and has the same meaning, along with ba meaning "goat."

231 meaning "goat." In the case of the goat, there remain some
825 customs that are very suggestive. Its milk is the basis of the most solemn of all oaths, that of fraternization; milk is also used to put out fires started by lightning and the hide is used to make sandals worn by widows during the period of mourning. The chronicle tells us that a certain dish made of a goat's head gives rise to the chief's power and sustains it (1). In spite of all

1. See p. 31, in connection with Dina Wara.

this, the goat shares with the donkey a general scorn and they are considered to be the born companions of slaves. This is perhaps why some people refuse to allow either animal to come into the house. Indeed, it is believed that a rich and powerful man can be ruined if either of these animals enters his house or, even worse, if he touches them.

718 Magician's work. So it is that man is immersed in a
● 791 strange fluid. In the final analysis, everything, man included,
754 [149] is merely a manifestation of this fluid. Currents and eddies have all forms of life at their mercy, and only the strongest are able to resist, control and even acquire in the struggle greater power than they would otherwise display. "The one who knows" can avoid or follow this chaotic movement; he can control himself and others. He is the real "master" (soma) and he alone can utilize this ever present and ever powerful invisible world.

754 What makes a magician can be described by a single term: the magic weapon, to be used for defense as well as for attack, and indeed for anything else, by one who knows how to use it. Let us consider some of the examples in the Bambara arsenal.

For anyone who wants to destroy an enemy, the so ma sama (lit., "bundle of the person of the house") is a valuable weapon. It is a mysterious powder, kept in the horn of a hind, in which is placed a small stick. It is used in the following manner: let us suppose that a Bambara wishes to harm a person who is passing through the village. The Bambara secretly takes

794 are all designed to attract and capture the god and, for this
782 purpose, to transfer the officiant from our world to the supernatural one. I have never heard anyone claim that the costume and the various actions of the officiant were intended to counterfeit the nyana, nor that the boli in any way represented the native's idea of the god.

The Clergy

793 Even though, in theory, familial nyana are inherited, those worshiped by the brotherhoods are usually bought. The head of the brotherhood is called the nyana-tigi (master of the nyana) (1), whether he has inherited the office, been elected

1. Ordinarily the word nyana is replaced by the specific name of the nyana, Komo, Nama, Nya, etc.

to it, or has imposed himself by virtue of being the most prominent founder of the brotherhood. It is he who keeps the boli, hence his title of boli-tigi, and who knows all the secrets of the cult. His duty is to direct the cult and to administer the brotherhood, and this gives him considerable local prestige.

The initiates of higher rank are called dye-n-fa-u, "masters of the truth." The nyana-tigi chooses his aides from this group, particularly the person who, "seized by the god" (wara-mina-den'), becomes the "oracle" (wara-da). The role
[787 of medium requires special persons who can go into a trance
● 791] under the influence of the animating spirit, and the wara-da has the duty of choosing and training the person who will succeed him or replace him, if the need arises (2).

2. These dye-n-fa students are called soma-de (elder sons) in the Komo brotherhood.

All the initiates are to some extent diviners through practices which are peculiar to them, and the brotherhoods often

152 After all, what can one do about an evil that cannot be exorcised except to bear it? What can one do against a powerful being that cannot be disarmed? Nevertheless, in the depth of his being he feels a need to enjoy himself (and enjoyment for him consists in drinking, eating, sleeping, and procreating); therefore he feels a horror of all suffering and neglects nothing that can protect him from it. In order 751 to live in peace, he reddens everything a little with blood and covers 789 his body with grigris or good-luck charms, with talismans that change the course of things and even of nature, and lastly amulets which will forearm him against poison, help him avoid an accident, cause the sorcery of the malicious to miscarry, send away the gnâma of the genii, of the living and the dead, and prevent the unknown forces which are found more or less everywhere in nature from taking hold of the wearer. For this protection they address themselves to the priests of the djiné and the boli, and especially to the sorcerers who have close contacts with the genii and are the mediators between man and the entire invisible world.

776 Since the Bambara conceived the visible and invisible world as 782 similar to what he believes himself to be, he has come to believe quite naturally and without any effort that the genii can be seen and conversed with their language understood and, finally, that it is possible to subjugate the forces of nature and hold them in one's power. By making offerings and sacrifices or causing them to be made through the intermediary of a priest, he can win a spirit's favor and thus lessen his fears and terrors. But if the spirit is weak, they will be ready to withdraw their attentions; it must be equal to the one feared and if possible outdo it.

778 It is force, or, to use their term, fanga, that governs each 791 person's conduct toward his neighbor; to be obeyed, a man must first cause himself to be feared, and only a powerful man will succeed and see everything yield before him. /34/

The Negroes have seen people of low birth and poor family succeed in increasing their property and become rich to the point of where they have servants and slaves and dominate a whole village, a whole tribe, or a whole people. Since they like to reason from

778 comparisons with themselves, they have thought that certain indi-
791 viduals could also create understandings in the world of spirits, and thus become the spirits' equals and even command them and make them obey. They firmly believe that such is the case, and although there are many sorcerers, there are still more people who maneuver to attain this position. Possession of the occult sciences cannot be acquired by anyone who wishes, however. The diploma or certificate of competence, cannot be obtained without swallowing certain mixtures of ashes, intestines, and blood, and certain repulsive eyewashes, such as the rheum from dogs' eyes, must be slid under the eyelids in order to see the invisible beings. In addition, unless a man is initiated by his father or brother, he must expect to pay a goodly sum. This is an art that pays, and generously! Every aspirant must also have a good memory in order to engrave in his mind the formulas, gestures, and rites; only the intelligent succeed.

791 The competence of sorcerers is far from equal, nor do they
787 proceed in an identical manner. Some read the future and discover secrets in the entrails of hens; others play with knuckle bones, pebbles, or cowrie shells (1) which they throw on the ground and count and

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1. /Torn page/ white /shells/ used as money.

recount, or trace cabalistic signs on scattered ashes, moving the forefinger back and forth, as in a game of Goose /a game played with dice on a board/. Some work with a gourd three quarters full of water, which they set on a n'gô (a kind of napkin ring or bracelet made of braided roots) washed frequently in the blood of /sacrificial/ victims. This procedure is the least complicated. The gourd is tipped right and left, forward and backward, until it sits firmly on the n'gô and can no longer be moved without carrying the stand along. Then the operator need only flick it three times with the middle finger of the right hand while stating the petitions..., and the spirit will answer in a soft murmur which those present can hear, but which he alone
791 understands. In a word, the /35/ good sorcerer stands out above the

791 rest of his fellows by intelligence, trickery, and deceit; the fool who vegetates is hardly patronized, for the crowd goes to the one who is craftiest, and if he is a diplomat and knows how to contrive matters to suit the occasion, he wins great fame quickly. Even while remaining a specialist (all sorcerers are to some extent), such a man is not slow to expand and, not satisfied with predicting the future, he plays the part in turn, of a doctor, a veterinary, and a pharmacist, and not a day passes when he does not find a new recipe to make his love philters, amulets, good luck charms, and talismans. Often, too, he will show off out of a desire for glory and will prescribe that a family, a village, or a whole region perform sacrifices called saraka, a kind of offering or tax which is usually placed at the corner of land formed by two paths that fork or intersect.

The practice of sorcery in Bambara country is what most defeats our logic. While some sorcerers address the djiné genii directly and begin their formulas with an invocation to the Creator -- whom they call An tigi, min yé fen bê tigi yé, "Our master who is the master of all things," or An tigi Alla, "God our master," leading one to suppose that in the beginning the greatest part of the worship was directed toward God -- others petition at the same time both the djiné genii and the boli genii, now invoking God and now denying and even insulting Him all in one and the same session. A third group of sorcerers have a more clear-cut domain leaving aside God and the djiné genii, they address themselves to the boli and to them alone. They are real [484] globe-trotters and go from one village to another with their talking boli -- for it is said that they talk -- enclosed in a goatskin or, more often, in the hide of a wildcat, on the paws of which swings a little bell that announces their arrival to everyone. Usually they read the [787] future in the intestines of hens, which help them to tell fortunes and draw horoscopes.

A sorcerer is honored because he is feared and dreaded, and all his orders and prescriptions are followed to the letter. Nothing serious is done except through him. He is consulted about everything, even a change of dwelling or a move to a different village, or a journey of /36/ any length; men and women and entire villages through their delegations file before him in turn. The sorcerers hold the Bambara

791 people in their hands; it is they who guide them and force them into obedience by predicting that those who resist will be afflicted with sickness, all kinds of calamities, and death. They are capable of all sorts of actions to preserve their prestige. They compound love philters, talismans, amulets, etc., but they are even better at compounding poisons: they are familiar with Strophanthus and their mixtures of hyena intestines, excrements of human corpses, and saliva taken from their mouths have terrible effects. [278]

791 648 These makers of rain and fair weather, who predict the future, cast lots, and cure the sick are all jealous of one another; there is no unity among them, and since cowardice is each one's chief virtue, there is no fear for the moment that they will press toward revolt. However, one should have no illusions, for that good-fellow smile on the lips of the Bambara in no way gives a true picture of their feelings. They hate the French because they are conquerors, and especially because the French have forbidden them to take slaves, sell, or even own them, and because they cannot administer justice as they please. The elders, who were formerly so powerful, feel their authority decreasing little by little, and there is fury in their hearts. They tremble and are afraid, they dread our rifles and cannons, whose rumblings still ring in their ears; they believe France to be even greater and more powerful than she is. But if some day a bold, enterprising, and audacious sorcerer should appear, he would succeed in creating a temporary union between these divergent groups no matter how slight a control he achieves. Then, without any doubt, we would see partial uprisings like those so frequent among the Moslems. The latter have deep in their hearts a hatred of everything that is not Islam and are never so happy as when they can march behind a fanatical Marabout; certain Frenchmen, well intentioned I like to believe, who refuse to admit thousands upon thousands of conclusive facts, continue nevertheless to help and pamper them, because they do not know the Koran and its teachings. Urged by I know not what naive philanthropy, they warm a snake which will turn against us every time it feels strong enough /37/ to raise its head, and they are preparing bloody days for our colonies in the fairly near future.

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who operate in the depth of night, " but by no means refers to nocturnal sorcerers. Moreover, in the eyes of the Negroes it designates not a bugaboo, but a reality.

themselves into hyenas in order to dig up corpses and eat them, and into gingin ("owl, " "screech owl") to drink the blood of sleeping men and women. It is said that the blood of young girls has an especially exquisite taste, /39/ and when the souba are unable to enter a dwelling in material form to obtain it, they change themselves into such a rarefied breath that they go through the walls and roofs.

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All persons whose faces are disfigured with scars resulting from boils or canker sores are considered victims of a souba, as are those whose legs are rotted by syphilis; every person infected by erysipelas goes to the members of the Siri sect, the souba.

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In addition to the souba there are the gné-fla (1), men with

1, They are supposed to have the ability to make themselves invisible by means of grisgris hung on their belts. Deprived of these, they are powerless.

two eyes, with second sight, so called because they see the world of invisible beings and know the secret thoughts of men without having to undergo metamorphosis. Some of them are good and some evil; there are those who use their prerogatives to halt the blows of the souba and protect their fellows, and others who use them only to harm their neighbors. As the good as well as the evil can abuse their power, the Negroes keep them all together, and since the souba are almost always gné-fla as well, they are indiscriminately feared and hated.

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When a person is metamorphosed into something else he keeps his intelligence and his reason, but he is dominated by an instinct, either good or evil, which destroys his will and anesthetizes him.

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and metamorphoses. Although I have no precise data, this coincidence leads me to think that the same is true of cannibals of the Ubangi.

782 To be convinced one need only be present at the sacrifices; no matter whether the offering is to the djiné genii, the boli genii, or to the shades of ancestors, there recurs, always, the phrase: "Deliver us from the souba and the gné-fla." One of the chief functions of the boli fetishes is just this, and there are some whose special and primary role is to make war against the Siri genii. One of these fetishes is the Nama, a powerful boli which is greatly honored, venerated, and, I should say, fashionable in the Ségou circle and among all Mande peoples. The Ngouansa, known especially in the Worodougou, is also said to specialize in this sphere. From time to time it makes its appearance in the Ségou circle, and its owner without fail does his bit of business and fills his purse. People run to him from all sides bringing hens, goats, and kola nuts, and I have seen these Ngouansa tigi, or masters of a Ngouansa, red with blood after spending the entire morning sacrificing. Before cutting their victims' throats, they stand, facing east with arms akimbo, and shout at the tops of their voices: "Souba, you are dogs, you are even less, the excrements of dogs, oubou bo."

791 825 824 Would the name of the souba and the gné-fla be heard so often from the lips of the Negroes, would families, villages, and sects /41/ spill so much blood or offer so many kola nuts, if they did not sincerely believe in them? Not only do they find an irrefutable proof of the possibility of metamorphosis in the fact that the caterpillar turns into a chrysalis which becomes a butterfly, they will also tell you that the winged termite, "that short-lived creature which on winter evenings comes in swarms around the lights, scattering wings everywhere, in the soup and on the plates," buries itself in the ground, swells like a sorghum seed, grows roots, and becomes a graceful shrub and then a beautiful tree provided it is spared by fire. I do not know the scientific name of this shrub or tree, but the Negroes call it sandéré.

4. The dja

774 778 Here again is a word very difficult to translate into our French language. We use dja to translate the words "phantoms," "pictures," "photographs," "shadows," "that which is reflected by water or by a mirror"; but there are other meanings, and there is no question of shadows or images in the following sentences, for example: a dja tikéra, a dja oulila, misiou dja oulila. They mean: "he is afraid," "he is crazed," "the cows are crazed." In the eyes of the Bambara, the dja is not only the shadow, the image, or the outline of objects, it is also that which makes them manifest. It is a force, a power common to beings of all kinds, and even though it cannot be compared to a genie or a soul, they nevertheless think of it as a kind of being which they are unable to define but which has its own existence and can act of its own accord.

[791] 774 784 The gné-fla, whom I mentioned when speaking of the souba, are feared because they see the genii and our private thoughts, and also because they practice sympathetic magic, by taking possession of that which makes the shadows of persons and things. The Bambara is convinced that his dja can be taken, and when this occurs he henceforth no longer casts a shadow. Although, because of their fear of the Europeans and in some cases because they have long been in contact with them, the Bambara may readily pose before a camera, one can nevertheless say that, in general, they do not like to be photographed. Particularly the old people object and begin to resist /42/ as soon as they see a lens. They have the notion in their heads that their dja will escape from them to make an imprint on the plate and leave its form there, and that this form will comprise the portrait, thus placing a part of their being in the hands of the operator and themselves at his mercy. They fear lest, as a result, they lose their [828] shadows and the ability to cast them, and thus become idiots.

774 Even though the Bambara cannot explain their ideas on this subject, these closely resemble the theories of Mr. de Rochas, discussed by Monseigneur Méric in Volume II of his work, Imagination et Prodiges /Imagination and Marvels/ /Paris, 1905/. The dja is something similar to what English psychologists call a double and

2. The saraka

782 Europeans -- civilian, military, or of the church -- easily confuse a saraka with a sacrifice, no matter how much they know of Bambara ways and customs. They do not even see that there is a difference, since sometimes it involves the shedding of blood. But even a bloody saraka is not a sacrifice; I even deny it the name of offering, for it is a tax, a tribute, and in my opinion that is the only appropriate name for it.

782 791 Private or public, with or without bloodshed, it is always performed on the express order of a sorcerer who, as we know, has intimate relations with the world of spirits and learns from them what the Divinity demands. When a sorcerer speaks and gives his oracles they are obeyed and carried out, so greatly are his threats feared, and it is all done "djakoyola, because forced." The saraka is given under his orders as the tax is given to the head of the circle.

782 778 In the eyes of the Bambara the saraka has no other character than that of a tax, a tribute paid either to the Divinity or to the fetishes. In February, 1907 the rumor spread in the villages around Ségou that the Komo fetish of Sioribougou had spoken. "Quick, give Death a hen through me in a saraka," the fetish said. "It is preparing to decimate you, and the only way left for you to disarm it is to give it a hen." The sorcerers confirmed this folly, the masters of the Komo found it to their taste, and not one head of a family dared refuse the hen that Death demanded. So they offered it, and the formula on this occasion was this: "The Komo of Sioribougou has ordered us to offer /64/ Death a white hen as a saraka. Komo, so-and-so makes this offering for himself and his family through your mediation; it is his saraka. If the wind blows from the east, may this hen preserve him from it! If it blows from the west, may it also preserve him! If the wind blows from the Ouorodougou (the country of the kola nut, the south), may this hen deliver him from it, and if it blows from the north may it deliver him from it also!" Cutting the hen's throat, the sacrificer of the Komo then added, reddening his fetish: "This is a saraka, the saraka which so-and-so gives to Death on behalf of himself, his wives, his children, and his friends.

000 I will speak at greater length in my chapter on circumcision.

776 Although the individual worship of the lesser genii by one per-
782 son or family is seldom public -- except sometimes temporarily, it nonetheless involves an enormous waste of /millet/ flour, kola nuts, cotton, cowrie shells, etc. Nevertheless, there are very few sacrifices in these offerings; most frequently, if not always, they are saraka, or alms, and a kind of tax or tribute since they are obligatory.

782 They are, in fact, obligatory alms, paid by an individual, a
791 family, or a whole quarter of a village, upon the command of a sorcerer. Some sorcerers who have renown or want to acquire it manage to prescribe these taxes for an entire village and, sometimes, even for a whole region. The occurence is not unusual; I have seen it happen every year. A shrewd operator from Bélé Koun in the circle of Sikasso, crosses the Bani in every dry season, and there is not a village in the circle of Ségou but feels called upon to hand hens and cowrie shells over to him and, in addition, afterwards to take a large contribution to one of the nearby crossroads. In spite of his youth -- he is twenty-five or thirty at most -- he is said to learn everything [787] by searching hens' entrails and crushing their viscera between his fingers. He makes profit by predicting terrible calamities everywhere. All his knowledge is summed up in the following words: "The genii are displeased, offer a saraka and offer it quickly, for if you do not, all children under three years old will die... goats, cows, horses, and sheep will die... springs will dry up... the karité butter will fail..., etc." In one place the words are those of a hyena, in another, those of a cow, and farther away it is a wild pig that speaks. And the dégé (/millet/ flour mixed with water) is spread and the blood of hens flows in streams. In short, the people are always expected to give to the fetishes and the sorcerers, and to give everything. Some occasionally balk and do not want to obey. The orders of the sorcerer become urgent, his prophesies more terrible than ever; at the end of his patience, he may spit out insults and /107/ curses, and then everyone comes to offer the saraka. Even Moslems let themselves be taken in.

782 In Bambara eyes, the saraka never has the character of a sacrifice. As I explained at length in speaking of the worship of God, it is always

778 All these are obviously legends and I give them as such, not having been able to assure myself of the facts de visu; I maintain, however, that they may be true. I broke open not a Komo, but a Kono, which was the torso of a child three to four years old.

Some boli, like the Tji wara and the Nama, are made of wood; others, like the Douga, consist of a considerable number of bulls' horns. They also take on almost all shapes, and when one opens the dirty goatskins that serve as their tabernacles, one finds horns and napkin rings, and among them balls suggesting all the fruits and tubers of creation, and one has to be more than an initiate to recognize the main item in this conglomeration. There are also some that resemble a crude doll whose arms are two horns; others are in the form of a hippopotamus, a cow, or an elephant, and in the Magna of Zambala on the Bani, in the circle of Sikasso, I even saw a little horse.

The boli are always composed of several pieces called boli dé, among which is the boli den fa, a little larger /141/ and rounder than the others because it receives the first trickle of blood and the mouthful of chewed kola nut. Some boli are strictly male or female, and others, like the Nama and Tji wara, for example, are mated and live in their temples with the females. The latter always resemble their husbands; they are less strong, but that is all. These fetishes, especially those that are famous, feared, and dreaded, often stay hidden, and their covering is not taken off until the moment of sacrifice.

778 791 158 The worship of the powerful boli is more complicated than that of the gnéna, or djiné, and an entire staff is needed to serve them. First, there is the owner of the fetish, the gnâtigi, or bolitigi, and the sacrificer, the mouroukalatigi. These are helped in their duties by two wara da (also called waraminadé), who are intermediaries between the fetish and its owner (1). It is through them that the genie

778 791 1. The Komo being the most famous in the province of Ségou, it is the staff of this fetish I am giving here. The others have staffs that are similar, but

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of course the names change a little. On the staff of the Nama there are not only warada but also djenfa tje and djenfa mouso, who go through the village to exorcise /all evil from/ it, holding the fetish in their hands or putting it over their faces. They are preceded by a torch bearer, who is usually the darotigi, or beadle. Some fetishes, the Kono for example, have a person especially responsible for carrying it to the place of sacrifice. He performs the duties of the darotigi; the one who carries the Kono is quite often called Kono guenguéba.

778 791 158 makes known its wishes and gives its orders; and when it does so, its spokesman is always seized by an epileptic attack followed by catalepsy. When he has spoken he is brought out of this state by being sprinkled with consecrated water, and he goes back to his place as if nothing unusual had happened. He seems to feel no fatigue, his features are composed; and yet only a moment earlier his body ran with sweat, his limbs shook with nervous trembling, his eyes were wild and starting out of their sockets, saliva that was often tinged with blood ran from his mouth, and his breath was whistling and irregular.

778 791 The gnâ also has its beadle, the darotigi, who rings for the sacrifice, thus warning the initiates to come quickly and the uninitiated to stay in their huts. Since he also sings the praises of the fetish while ringing his bell, he is also called /142/ gnâ djéli, storyteller /griot/of the gnâ. To all these are added the band of members and initiates, whose function consists chiefly in providing the food and beer for the orgies. These are the gnako dé-n-ou, children of the gnâ.

778 495 One becomes master of a gnéna, or djiné (1), by election or

778 mother who bore him"), and on the phrase sinna dé meaning "a child
572 at the breast," I believe I can give this meaning to the word sinnakoun ("head," "tip of the breast": or again, "because of the breast"): "Between us it is as if we had sucked the same breast; therefore, we are like brothers." And /155/the persons bound by this type of friendship regard themselves as such, exchanging witticisms and light jokes without ever quarreling. Yet the Negroes are very sensitive and hardly ever allow joking. Seing such friends one would take them for kanémé, and the latter are relatives since they are maternal cousins (1).

1. A woman's children and the children of her brothers are kanémé to each other. Sinnakoun and kanémé are not impediments to marriage.

The sinnakoun between families dates from time immemorial; it appears to have no history, or at least I was unable to persuade anyone to tell me what it is. In any case, one can believe that it is a friendship sworn on a boli, or in its presence if you like, since nowadays two heads of families who wish to be united, to be sinnakoun, together redden a powerful fetish.

6. Talking Boli

778 761 These are supposed to bring death to anyone who scorns them. Nevertheless, they are seldom blamed for death, and they bring chiefly evil spells, sorcery, and sickness. They are in the hands of so-called sorcerers, real leeches who go through villages in the dry season, always holding out their hands and begging.

778 791 A talking boli is usually the tail of an animal and the sacrifices are made on this tail. The owner always has his instrument in an unusual skin, often the hide of a small wild animal, and he lets an end protrude. That, I believe, is his insignia, his mark of identification, unless it be the small bell he hangs on the paws of the hide and which he knows so well how to shake in order to notify people of his arrival.

778 The Bambara consult these sorcerers to find out the future and to
● 791 draw their horoscopes or good luck. The fee for a seance is not at all unreasonable; it seldom exceeds the moderate sum of 40 cowrie shells, or one sou.

Concerning the Sirikoun

778 Every great boli includes an object called sirikoun. There are other sirikoun which are no longer parts of boli, but have become
754 actual boli. The latter are hung at the waist and are always /156/ covered with a red cloth. Almost everyone owns them, although they are most frequently in the hands of the owners and sacrificers of great fetishes. They are usually ends of the tails of cows, horses, wild pigs, etc., and are often sprinkled with blood. They are sought in order to cast a spell or sorcery on an enemy, to make him sick, and even
[151] cause him to die, or again to protect oneself from a spell, sorcery, sickness, or death.

The sirikoun and the talking boli are fetishes belonging to individuals; they have neither festivals nor formal sacrifices, and they are not publically worshipped.

Chapter 8

The First Years in the Life of a Bambara

1. The Sexual Morality of the Bambara

181 Those who have seen the Bambara and have the slightest acquaintance with them will not hesitate to tell you: "They are liars and thieves." They certainly never pass up a chance to take the property of another, and they lie boldly and with such complete calm that not a muscle in their bodies flinches. This has always surprised